The Two Great QUESTIONS CONSIDER'D.

I. *What the* French *King will Do, with Respect to the* Spanish Monarchy.

II. *What Measures the* English *ought to Take.*

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The Two Great Queſtions CONSIDERD.

WE are told That the Deceaſed King of *Spain* has by his laſt Will, beſtow'd his Kingdoms on the Duke *D' Anjou*, Grandſon to the Preſent King of *France*.

Amongſt the many weak Actions of that Effeminate Prince, who hardly ever did a Wiſe One, This is the moſt Ridiculous; if it be proper to give ſuch a Name to the Actions of Soverign Princes.

To imagine the moſt Chriſtian King wou'd give any Regard to, or put any Value upon ſuch a Bequeſt, any farther than conſiſted with his other Meaſures, or at leaſt with his Intereſt; muſt be a Folly none could be guilty of, but ſuch as know very little of the King of *France*, or of the Affairs of *Europe*.

2. To think that the Reſt of of Princes of *Chriſtendom*, wou'd ſuffer the *Spaniſh Monarchy* to be bequath'd by Will to a *French* Man, without any Title or other Right than the Deed of Gift of the late King, and without any Regard to the Right of the Lawful Pretenders, is alſo moſt Egregious Nonſence.

To make way therefore, to the Caſe in hand, and come at the Queſtions before us with more Clearneſs; 'tis neceſſary to Examine the Nature, and probable Conſequences of this Laſt Will and Teſtament of the King of *Spain*.

1. As to the Nature of the Thing, it ſeems to be a Tacit Invitation to all the Competitors to a Dangerous and a Bloody War; as if the King of *Spain* ſhou'd have ſaid to his Privy Council, *I'll be revenged on them all for attemping to divid our Dominions; for I'll give it to One that has no Title, let the Reſt fight for it, and the longeſt Sword take all.*

As to the Duke *D' Anjou*, he has no Manner of Title, but what is preſumptive on the Death of his Father and Elder Brother without Iſſue; if they ſhould have Children the Emperor of *Morocco* has as good, and perhaps a better Title to the Crovvn of *Spain* than He.

The *Dauphin* of *France* has an Unqueſtion'd Title to the Crovvn of *Spain*, if it be True, that the Renunciation made by his Father and Mother at the *Pyrenæan* Treaty; cannot bind the Children ſo as to deprive them of their Right, vvhich is the great Argument novv us'd to defend their Title: Novv if their Right be good the Crovvn is the *Dauphin's*, and after him the Duke of *Burgundy's* and his Heirs; and Dr. *Davenant* may ſpare himſelf the Labour of Writing a long Diſcourſe to defend the *Dauphin's* Title, for vve vvill grant he has an Undoubted Right of Succeſſion.

But I ſhou'd be glad to have it anſver'd, hovv the Duke *D' Anjou* can have a Title vvhile the other are alive? Is cannot be in the Povver of the *Dauphin* to ſay, I vvill give my Right to my Second Son, for I do not think it vvorth my vvhile to accept of it for my ſelf or my Eldeſt. Becauſe,

2. The Conſequence of that vvill in all Probability be this, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Son vvhen he has One vvill ſay again, My Grandfather had no

Power

Power to give away my Right, I am the Undoubted Heir to the Spaniſh Monarchy, *and ſo no Queſtion he will be if the preſent* Dauphin *has a Right; and if Power be in his Hands to ſubdue it, he will have it. tho' the Poſſeſſion be his Uncle's; for Crowns know no Uncles, Brothers, or any Relations; when Power of Poſſeſſion joyn'd with Right is before them.*

So that the King of France *cannot but ſee, that to take the Crown of* Spain *from the Will and Teſtament of the late King, is Diſclaiming the Right of his own Son and Involving his Grandſons in Bloody Wars; the Iſſue of which a Wiſer Head than His cannot foreſee. This leads me to Conſider.*

The Firſt Queſtion.

What Meaſures the King of *France* will take, with reſpect to the Succeſſion of the *Spaniſh Monarchy?*

By ſaying what Meaſures he will take, I mean, what He will in all Probability take, or what his Intreſt will lead him to take; for I ſuppoſe, no Man will imagine I am of his Privy Council.

To debate this Matter, 'tis neceſſary to conſider the King of France *with reſpect to the Terms He ſtands in with the reſt of* Europe.

If the King of France *were Abſolute Maſter of his own Meaſures and had no Leagues or Neighbours to regard; there is no Queſtion to be made, but that rejecting all Conditions of he would immediately enter upon the Dominions* Spain *as his own undoubted Inheritance, or at leaſt his Sons; annex the the ſame to the Crown of* France *and make it one Entire Empire, and any Man elſe wou'd do the like.*

But as He has Meaſures to take with Powerful Neighbours, who as Potent as He is, are able to give him Diverſion enough; and if He ſhou'd embroil himſelf with them, may make it a Hazard *whether he ſhould obtain it or no; He is too Wiſe a Prince not to ſee that his Intereſt will Oblige him to act in Concert with his Neighbours. as far as conveniently He can.*

The Truth of this Argument is abundantly confirm'd in the Meaſures He took, and the Alliances He made before the Death of the King of Spain.

They who think the King of France *ſo Magnipotent that He values none of his Neighbours, and talk ſo big of him, that like Medal-makers they place him among the Invincibles; muſt have forgot the Siege of* Namure, *and the Vain Effort of the Power of* France *to relieve it; they muſt paſs over his Deſerting the Late, and Acknowledging the Preſent King of* England *at the Peace of* Reſwick; *they muſt overlook the low Steps he was oblig'd to make, to draw the Duke of* Savoy *from the Confederacy, how he was unable to ſave* Caſall. *which coſt him ſo much Money; how he delivered the Impregnable Town of* Pigneroll, *which his Father call'd the High Key of* France, *and which coſt him* 100 Millions *to fortify; how he married the Fortune of* France *to a Daughter of* Savoy *without a Portion. and bought the Duke of* Savoy *at the Price of his Grandſon's Diſhonour; how he ſurrendred the large Dominions of* Lorrain *and* Luxemburgh, *and above* 100 *Fortified Towns to the Confederates, which though he were always Maſter of the Field, wou'd coſt him ſeven Years to recover by the Ordinary Courſe of Sieges and Attacks.*

These are plain Demonstrations, that he found himself over match'd by the Confederacy; and he is not a Man of so little Sence, as not to know it.

Why else in the League now made for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy, *shou'd he content himself with the Dominion the* Spaniards *had in* Italy, *and quit the Delicious Morsel of* America *to the House of* Austria.

What Reason can any one assign for it, but that finding the English *and* Dutch *never to be brought to consent, to his being so very powerful at Sea, as that Addition wou'd make him; he was willing to accept so large a Portion as the* Italian *Part assigned to him upon Easie Terms, rather than venture like the Dog in the Fable, to loose all by coveting too much.*

Upon these Terms therefore, in Consent with the English *and* Dutch, *his Most Christian Majesty has agreed, that on the Decease of the King of* Spain *the* Spanish Monarchy *should be thus divided,*

All the Dominions with the Spaniards *possess in* Italy *to be given to the* French, *Millan excepted, which is to be given to the Duke of* Lorrain *in Consideration of the Dutchies of* Lorrain *and* Barr, *which are to be yielded to the* French, *and all the rest some few Towns on the Frontiers of* Navarr *excepted, to be given to the Arch Duke of* Austria, *with other Particulars needless to repeat,*

This League being Concluded, the King of Spain *(as if had linger'd out his Days only 'till it was thus fix'd) dyes according to our Account on the* 22. October *last.*

The Spaniards *on pretence, that they wou.d not have their Monarchy divided, and taking no Notice at all of the Right of any Prince to succeed; has made a Legacy of his Kingdoms, and given them all away to the Duke* D' Anjou, *a Prince who has no more Right to it, or Pretence of Right, except as before, than the Prince of* Wales *or the Czar of* Muscovy.

Now 'tis a Mighty Disputed Point among our Politicians, *what the* King *of* France *will do in this New Juncture of Affairs, whether He will stand by the Partition agreed on, or accept of the late King of Spains Bounty, and take the Kingdom as a Gift to his Grandson.*

What He will do, as is before noted, cannot positively be asserted,

but

but what Reason the State and Nature of the thing, and his own Undoubted Interest will dictate, to be done by any Prince in his Circumstances, any one may judge.

If He be the same King of France that he has always been, who has very rarely took false Measures, or baulkt his own Interest, if He be guided by the same well-mannag'd Council as he us'd to be, He will certainly adhere to the Posculata of his Alliance, and quietly accept the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy, as it is agreed in the before-mention'd League. For,

By this Acquisition of Italy He secures to Himself the whole Absolute Dominion of the Mediterranean Sea; He entirely excludes the House of Austria from any farther Concern in Italy, He has the Church so absolutely in his Clutches, that He may make himself Pope if He thinks fit; and whenever He is pleas'd to be displeas'd with the Petty Princes of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Mantua, &c. He can blow them away with the Breath of his Mouth, they shall lay down their Principallities at his Invincible Feet, and count it more an Honour to be call'd Princes of the Blood or Peers of France, than to be Absolute Lords of their own Dominions. So He shall whenever He thinks fit, re-establish the Old Kingdom of the Lombards, and annex it to the Title of France and Navarr.

And all this without the Expence of Treasure or Hazard of his Armies, without fitting out a Fleet, or fighting at Sea or on Shore; the English and Dutch being assistant to put him into the Possession of it.

If the Emperor shou'd be so weak to oppose Him, He must stand upon his own Leggs, and in the present Circumstance, his Power does not seem formidable enough to make the Matter doubtful.

And now we are come to mention the Emperor, let us say a Word or Two to those Gentlemen, who in his behalf speak big and say, he is able to baffle all these Measures.

First, They tell you, how powerful the Empire now is by the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the most advantagious Peace with the Turk.

They tell you his Imperial Majesty has an Army of 120 Thousand Men, besides the Troops of the Circles which are 80 Thousand more: that of these 50 Thousand lye ready on the Confines of Italy, and all the rest of his Forces are drawing down to the Rhine, that the Duke

of

of Brandenburgh *on Condition of being made King of* Prussia *will joyn him with all his Forces that the Duke of* Lunenburgh *on account of the* Ninth Electorate, *will maintain* 30 *Thousand Men at his own Charge, and thus all the Princes of* Italy, *are on his side.*

By these they tell you, the Emperor will immediately on the one side secure Italy *and on the other side make such a Vigorous Diversion on the* Rhine, *that the King of* France *shall have Work enough to secure his own Dominions, while in the mean time the Arch-Duke* Charles *shall be sent into Spain, where the* Spanards *who naturally hate the* French, *will immediately proclaim him King*

Those are great Things indeed, and if the Emperor be so strong, he may cut out a great deal of Work for the Confederates, and I'll suppose, the Emperor should be so blind to his own Intrest as to attempt it, yet seems not at all probable, that his Impereal Majesty who has hardly been able to support himself this War in Conjunction with the whole Confederacy of Europe, *should imagine himself capable of putting a Check to the Power of* France, *in Conjunction with* England *and* Holland; *for whatever he might do in* Italy *and on the* Rhine, *he would never be able to defend* Spain *and* Flanders *if he really had them in Possession,*

First, Flanders *always which has been maintain'd by the Conjunction of the* Dutch, *would immediately be entred by the* Dutch *on one side, and the* French *on the other; and must fall into their hands with little difficulty.*

Secondly, Spain *could never hold out against the* French *by Land, assisted with the Naval Forces of the* Eugilsh *and* Dutch *by Sea, the Islands of the* Mediterranean *must submit to the Masters of the Sea, and* America *would lye like the Golden Garland to the Conquerors, to be given to the Conquerors.*

No man can imagine, but the Emperor, to whose Son so Considerable a Dominion is allotted, will accept of the Partition for his Part, especially when he sees how impossible it will be to make better Conditions by force.

What the Englisn *and* Dutch *are to do, if he should; remains to be debated under another Head.*

I'll now suppose that which to me seems very unlekely, That the King of France *should accept of this Legacy, and claim the Crown of* Spain *for his Grandson the Duke D'* Anjou, *and attempt th set up that Ridiculous Title of a Last Will and Testament, as the Foundation of his Pretension.*

Let us Calmly consider the Consequences.

1. He inevitably renews the War with the whole Confederacy, that Peace which cost Him so much to procure, is immediately broken, upon the first Invasion He makes on the Territories of Spain, who are a Branch of the Confederacy.

2. He renews the War under insuperable Disadvantages, such as are infinitely greater than He lay under before, and such as loudly tell the World, He never will venture

venture to fight the whole Confederacy again. *Viz.* The Multitude of ſtrong Towns & Cities which he ſurrendred to the Confederates, which are a ſufficient Guarantee of the Peace, and the Different Caſe of the Emperor, who is more than 'twice what he was the laſt War, by his Peace with the *Turks*.

3. If He ſhould make the Duke D' *Anjou* King, *France* would really get nothing by the Bargain for in one Age the Race would be all *Spaniards* again; Nay, in a few Years Property woul'd prevail, and he woul'd no more let his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* when King of *France* encroach upon him, than the late King of *Spain* woul'd the preſent King of *France*; We do not want Inſtances in the World, that Intereſt baniſhes all the Ties of Nation and Kindred, when the Duke *D'Anjou* had been King of *Spain* ſome time, he would look upon *Spain* to be his Own, his Native, his Peculiar, and be as far from ſubjecting himſelf to *France*, becauſe he was born there; as if he had never ſeen it: Poſſibly he might be willing to join Intereſt with *France*, and it may be join Forces upon Occaſion' but it muſt be where the Intereſt of the two Nations did not claſh then, and that is almoſt no where, but if ever *France* encroach upon him, ſhe wou'd find him King of *Spain* not Duke *D'Anjou*.

So that all the King of *France* cou'd get by accepting the Crown of *Spain*, would be a little preſent Satisfaction, to ſee a Son of the Houſe of *Burbon* on the *Spaniſh* Throne, but as King of *France* he wou'd not be One Farthing the beter for it.

But this would not be all as is before noted, but whenever the preſent Duke of *Burgundy* comes to Enjoy the Crown of *France*, it will in all Probability be an Eternal Cauſe of Contention between them: For if the

Family

Family of *France* has any Title to *Spain* 'tis in the Eldeſt Son of the Family, and there can be no Colour of Title in the Second Son while the Eldeſt is alive, but what is founded either in the Gift of the One King or the Other.

As to the Gift of the *Dauphin* to his Second Son the firſt being alive, it cannot be valid; for he has no Power to give away what is his Son's by Inheritance, nor can no more give the Crown of *Spain* from him than the Crown of *France*; if Gift could be pleaded, the Grandfather gave it away from them all before they were born: Nay, if the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould conſent to it, His Children if ever he has any, will declare, he had nothing to do to give away their Right, any more than the preſent King of *France* had Power to give away the Right of the *Dauphin*; for ſince the Deficiency of that Action in its own Nature is the whole Ground of the *Dauphin*'s Title now, it will directly deſtroy the Title of the Duke *D'Anjou*, for what is a good Argument for him cannot be a bad One againſt him.

As to the Gift of the Defunct King of *Spain*, I ſee nothing in it to build a Pretence of Right on; If He had bequeath'd it to the Right Heir, I preſume, he wou'd not have thought his Title one jot the better for it. And if he had bequeath'd it to the *Grand Seignior*, the King of *France* wou'd not have thought his Title the worſe for it: So that it ſignifies juſt nothing at all.

We come now to the grand Queſtion propoſed.

Queſt. 2. What Meaſures the Engliſh ought to take in this Juncture.

The Anſwer muſt be in Two Parts.

1. Suppoſing the French King adheres to the Partition agreed upon by the League before-mentioned.

2. Sup-

2. Supposing the French King for Reasons which we know not should think fit to quit the Treaty, and push for the whole on the Pretence of a Will made by the King of *Spain*.

'Tis confess'd *England*, since her Troops are broke, and her People more divided in Temper than 'twas hop'd they wou'd have been under so mild and gentle a Government, makes but a very mean Figure abroad; and were any King at the Head of her Councils as well as Forces, but King *William*, hardly any Nation would trouble their Heads to confederate with her.

But all the World does not yet see our weak Side, and the Reputation of the King makes us more formidable a great deal than we really are.

But we are to act according to the Knowledge we have of what our Circumstances really are not what other Nations may believe them, lest we let them know our Weakness at the Price of our Destruction.

However I'll for the present suppose what all good Men wish: That we were in the same good Posture as the War left us, united in Council, and ready for Action, and willing to preserve the Character we had then in the World.

And *First*, Supposing the King of *France* adheres to the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy.

If so, without Question *England* ought to put her self into such a posture as to be able, in Conjunction with the Dutch, to force the Emperor and Princes of *Italy* to comply with the Conditions.

At the same time so to maintain the Ballance in the Partition, as to oblige the King of *France* to accept of, and rest contented with the Particulars stipulated in their respective Leagues, without farther Encroachment,

and

and to make themſelves Truſtees for the reſt, in Behalf of the Heir.

It is already ſtarted as a Query, what if the King of *France* does accept of the Partition, and the Emperor ſhou'd continue to ſtand out, the King of *France* is then at Liberty to take the whole if he can get it.

No ſuch Matter, I do not pretend to have been privy to the Debates, or of the Council, in the contriving this League, nor to be acquainted with what Proviſion is made, in caſe the Emperor refuſes to come in, but in order to give a Judgment as near as can be done without Doors as we call it. I ſhall briefly ſtate the Reaſons, which in my Opinion ſhould move the Engliſh and Dutch to form this League: And the great Reaſon, which, as I conceive, gave Birth to the firſt Project of this League, ſetting aſide private Reaſons of State, was the maintaining the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

This has been the Foundation of all the Wars in our Age againſt the French, and in the laſt Ages againſt the Spaniards and the Emperor.

A juſt Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace. I queſtion whether it be in the Humane Nature to ſet Bounds to its own Ambition, and whether the beſt Man on Earth wou'd not be King over all the reſt if he could. Every King in the World would be the Univerſal Monarch if he might, and nothing reſtrains but the Power of Neighbours; and if one Neighbour is not ſtrong enough for another, he gets another Neighbour to join with him, and all the little ones will join to keep the great one from ſuppreſſing them. Hence comes Leagues and Confederacies; thus the German Proteſtants call'd in the Aſſiſtance of *Guſtavus Adolphus* to much the Power of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the 2. and founded the famous

League

League call'd the Concluſions of *Leipſick*, which brought the Imperial Power to the due Ballance which it now ſtands at on the Foot of the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*; ſo the French and the Engliſh aſſiſted the Dutch to bring the Spaniſh Power to a Ballance in the time of *Philip* the II. when the Spaniſh Greatneſs began to be terrible to *Europe*, which Ballance was eſtabliſhed in the Peace of *Aix la Chappel*.

So the Power of *France* was brought to a Ballance, but not ſo equal as it might have been, had King *Charles* II. ſtood to his own Propoſals at the Treaty of *Nimegune*, the Defects of which Peace were in a great Meaſure the Occaſion of this late War, which has been the longeſt, moſt chargeable, and moſt bloody that ever the French Nation has been engaged in ſince the Days of *Francis* the I. their own civil Wars excepted.

This War has brought the power of *France* to a Ballance, ſhe had fortified her Frontiers with a continued Rampart, a Line of ſtrong Cities from *Hunninghen* on the Confines of the *Swiſs*, down the *Rhine*, the *Moſell*, and the *Maes*, to the very Sea-ſide, the greateſt whereof ſhe has been oblig'd to part with, to enable her Enemies to be their own Guarantees; by which in ſome places ſhe is left ſo naked, that ſhe is fain to build new Cities, or fortifie old ones to ſupply the Vacancy, as at *Briſack*, and in other ſhe lyes wholly open as at *Pigneroll*; ſhe has ſtoop'd to ſuch a peace, as has made her far leſs formidable than before.

Now the precarious Life of the King of *Spain* gave the King of *England* juſt Umbrage, that this Ballance in which our Safety ſo much conſiſts, ſhould receive a Shock, to the prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt, by the Addition of the Spaniſh Dominion to that of *France*.

And

And here I place the Original of the Project, as a probable Conjecture, at leaſt drawn from the Nature of things according to rational Concluſions from probable premiſes, when better Grounds are made publick, I ſhall own my ſelf miſtaken.

When the pretenders to the Spaniſh Succeſſion are conſidered, they are found to be the Emperor and the King of *France*, the Prince of *Bavaria* being dead before.

To let the Emperor poſſeſs the Spaniſh Dominions, would be the overthrowing the Ballance made at the *Weſtphalia* Treaty, by which the Houſe of *Auſtria* already ſtrengthened by the Conqueſt of *Hungaria*, and the peace with the Turks would be too potent for the princes of *Germany*, nor wou'd the French like well that the Emperor the Eternal Competitor of *France* upon the *Rhine* ſhou'd be ſtrengthen'd with ſuch an addition, by which he wou'd ha' been Lord of almoſt half the World.

To let the French poſſeſs the Spaniſh Dominions, would overthrow the Ballance Purchas'd in this War with ſo much Blood and Treaſure, and render fruitleſs the Treaty of *Reſwick*. Twou'd eſpecially ha' been Fatal to the *Engliſh* and Dutch, by the encreaſe of Wealth from the Maſs of Money returning Yearly from the Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, which the French wou'd be better Husbands of than the *Spaniards*, by their encreaſe of Shipping which wou'd make them too ſtrong for all the World at Sea, and by their ruining the Spaniſh Trade which is the greateſt and moſt profitable in *Europe*; 'twould immediately unhinge all the Settlement of our Merchants and Factories, and turn the whole Channel of Trade; for the ports of *Spain* being free to the French as Subjects, all our Negoce that way wou'd be deſtroy'd, then their Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, and in the *Weſt-Indies*, would be intollerable and inſupportable.

O

O 'twould fill a Volume to ſet down the Inconveniencies which *England* and *Holland* muſt expect to feel, Caſe the *French* were Maſters of the *Spaniſh* Monarhy, the *Streights-Mouth* would be like the *Sound*, and ll our Ships ſhould pay Toll at *Gibralter*, as they do at *Oſeneur*, your Fiſhing Trade from *New-England*, and *ew-foundland* wou'd periſh, for the *French* from the anks of *Newfoundland* ſhould go free, and you Pay 25 *er Cent.* &c. We muſt erect an Admiralty in the *Weſt-Indies*, or mantain a Fleet there, or our Plantations wou'd e always at his Mercy; our Collonies of *Virginia*, and *New-England*, would eaſily be deſtroy'd while the French would lye on their backs quite thro' their Country from *anada* to the City of *Mexico*.

Theſe are ſome of the leſſer Inconveniencies, which s I preſume, were the firſt Motives to the Treaty.

The Confederats therefore not being willing the French houl'd have *Spain*, and the French being reſolv'd the Emperor ſhould not have it, a Medium is propoſed that ſince it was ot convenient for *Europe*, that either of them ſhould have it ll, and both of them had a Title to it, it ſhould therefore be ivided between them in Manner and Form, as aforeſaid.

This is the ſhort Hiſtory of this League, which really has more of Pollicy than Right in it, for ſtrictly Conſidered, the Right of Succeſſion can devolve but upon one Perſon, let that one be who it will, is not the preſent Buſineſs. But publick ood, the Peace of Kingdoms, the General quiet of *Europe*, prevails to ſet aſide the Point of nice Juſtice, and determine n favour of the Publick Tranquility.

And I crave leave to make Two Obſervations here:

Firſt, Our *Jacobites-Proteſtant-Brethren*, whoſe Underſtandings are ſo blind, that they cannot ſee the Intereſt of their Native Country, have here fairly repreſented to them the Condition *England* had now been in, and *Europe* in General in a Papiſt and Confederate with *France* had been on the Throne

Throne; if *England* had not had a King who cou'd so far Influence the Ambition of the powerful Prince, as to prevent his seizing that Monarchy of *Spain*, which none but *England* cou'd hinder him from.

Secondly, Our Non-jurants who hold the right Lines of Princes such Sacred things, may also see that even among Hereditary Princes themselves, the Rights of Succession are oftentimes infringed, and the private Interest of Princes and Families set aside when the publick Interest of Nations, the Preservation of Peace, and the keeping a General Ballance of Power among Princes, comes to be the Question, and the Histories of all Ages and Nations give Instances to Prove it as well as this.

Having thus run thro' the Reasons of this League of Partition, the Question is answered of course, that if the Emperor shou'd refuse to come into the Partition and push for the whole, then the King of *France* is not thereby at Liberty to possess the whole, if he can, for that wou'd overthrow all the Measures upon which the League of Partition is built.

The Emperor is not so weak a Prince to refuse the Kingdom of *Spain* with all its *Dep's* in the *Ocean*, *Flanders*, and *America*, but upon some Expectation to get more; the Confederates therefore are to preserve that part which is Design'd him free, and then effectually to put it out of his power to obtain the rest, and with all not to admit him into the part Reserv'd for him, till he agrees to accept it on the Terms proposed; if he shou'd absolutely refuse it, which is a ridiculous Supposition, there are other Heirs of that Line to have recourse too, there's no doubt the Crown of *Spain*, need not go a begging for an Heir.

It may be answered, if it be thus, it is the Emperor's best Course to lay his Measurer for the whole, and if he connot carry it, he may accept of the Partition at last.

That's more than the Objector may be able prove how far the Confederates may think fit to bestow the remainder, if the Emperor after a War shou'd be reduc'd to accept of it, is more than any one can Answer, and more than the Emperor will try, if he be not infatuated worse than ever a certain

ain King was, who if he had not might ha'been a King ſtill.

The Second Branch of the Anſwer is ſuppoſing the King *of France* ſhou'd ſo far forget himſelf as to quit the League of Partition, and claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grandſon *Duke d'Anjou*, by Virtue of the Will of the King Defunct.

It muſt certainly then be the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland*, firſt to put themſelves in ſuch a Poſture as may prevent the French King ſeizing of *Spain* it ſelf, and *Flanders* in Particular.

And upon the Firſt Invaſion of the Territories of *Spain* by the French King, to Declare War againſt him in the Name of the whole Confederacy as an Infringer of the Grand Peace at *Reſwick*.

And then by appearing on the Frontiers in ſuch a formidable manner as ſhall give him diverſion enought, that he not be able to enter *Spain* with any conſiderable Forces.

The Firſt of theſe things is to be done immediately by fitting out a good Fleet, which ſhould ſo Scour the *Mediteranean* that the French wou'd not be able to do much on the ſide of *Catalonia*, for Experience has told us a Fleet at Sea will make their War in *Catalonia* very uneaſie to them, and by landing a ſmall Force of about Eight or Ten Thouſand Men at *Fonterabia*, which ſhould be ſufficient to Defend that ſide of the Country from the Invaſions of the French.

But this Pamphlet is not wrot to direct Methods, but to Argue the general Point.

The Concluſion of the Argument muſt come to that ſort of People who have appeared Champions for our *Engliſh* Liberty, as to Damn all kind of force, as uſeleſs, burthenſom to the Kingdom and Badges of ſlavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for ſupporting Arbitrary Deſigns.

If the *French* ſhou'd attack *Spain*, I am far from ſaying I am glad they will be convinc'd; but *I* muſt ſay *I* am ſorry the people of *England* have been deluded by their ſpecious pretences.

for

If the French carry the Spaniſh monarchy for want of our being in a Condition to prevent it; I am bold to tell thoſe Gentlemen God Almighty muſt be put to the trouble of working another miracle to ſave us, or we are reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition.

But ſay they, we have a great Fleet, and in that we are ſafe; it is true, Gentlemen, ſo we are from Invaſion, I believe we need not fear all the World; but what is England without its Trade, without its Plantation Trade, Turky Trade, and Spaniſh Trade, and where will that be when a French Garriſon is planted at Cadiz, and the French Fleet brings home the Plate from Havana.

What will the Virginia Colony be worth when the French come to be ſtrong in the Lakes of and have a free Commerce from Quebeck to Mexico behind ye, what will our Northern Trade be worth in a War, when the ports of Oſtend and Newport are as full of Pirates as Dunkirk and St. Malo.

A wiſe Man cannot patiently reflect upon the formidable power of France with the Addition of the Spaniſh Dominion, and ſhould he at laſt annex it to the Crown of France, who can conſider without Horrour that all the ports from Sluce in Flanders, to the Faro Meſſina in Sicily, ſhould be in the Hands of the French, which is a Coaſt of near 3000 Miles, Portugal, Genoua and Leghorn excepted; and how long they will hold out, is eaſie to imagine.

I know God can prevent Humane Contrivances, and I believe he has plac'd King William on the Engliſh Throne, on purpoſe to diſappoint this Invincible Monarch in thoſe vaſt Deſigns. but no Thanks to our Gentlemen that have ſo weakned both his Hands and his Intereſt at home, as to make him leſs able to perform for us what is our own Advantange than His Majeſty wou'd be, and than the Caſe requir'd.

As to Ways and Means I meddle not with them, I leave them to the wiſe Heads of the Nation, but with Submiſſion to their Judgment, this I am poſitive in, let our Meaſures be what they will, if we do not keep the Enemy, the French, I mean out of Spain, we are undone.

In all the Hiſtories of Times and Wars, I never read of a General who would not chuſe to be Maſter of the Field, and able to fight his Enemy, rather than to be coop'd up, and bound to defend the Walls of a Town.

If the French get the Spaniſh Crown, we are beaten out of the Field as to Trade, and are beſieged in our own Iſland, and never let us flatter our ſelves with our Safety conſiſting ſo much in our Fleet; for this I preſume to lay down as a fundamental Axiom, at leaſt as the Wars go of late, 'tis not the longeſt Sword, but the longeſt Purſe that conquers. If the French get Spain, they get the greateſt Trade in the World in their Hands; they that have the moſt Trade, will have the moſt Money, and they that have the moſt Money, will have the moſt Ships, the beſt Fleet, and the beſt Armies; and if once the French maſters us at Sea, where are we then? And though I would not leſſen our Fleet, which I believe is now the beſt in the World, yet he that looks back to the French Fleet before their Misfortune, will tell you that all our Engliſh was not able look them in the Face if we had no Dutch on our ſide, and hardly with the Dutch and us together.

FINIS.